



THE KEYNOTER

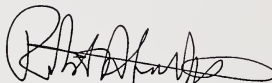


**EUGENE V. DEBS • NORMAN THOMAS
CASSIUS M. CLAY • WILLIAM McKINLEY**

Managing Editor's Message

Welcome to the first of our two planned "homeless" issues for 1991, in which we catch up on articles that have been waiting for an appropriate opening. Some of these articles have been delayed for lack of adequate illustrations, a space slot of sufficient length or proper format, re-editing of the text or a combination of the above. We apologize to our contributors for what must, at times, seem a serious lack of attention to their work. But a product with the quality that we try to maintain in *The Keynoter* is prodigiously time-consuming, even when articles are submitted that appear to be "camera-ready." Please bear with us if you have already submitted an article — it WILL appear, and please continue to send in articles for future publication. This job can only be done with everyone's cooperation and patience.

We are also continuing to print articles from the early Keynoters. In this issue, we are reprinting an extensive feature on Eugene Debs, Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party in America, which first appeared in 1972.



Robert A. Fratkin
Managing Editor

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Illustrations: The Editors wish to thank the following for contributing illustrations for this issue: Lon Ellis, John Gingerich, U.I. "Chick" Harris, Drew Hecht, John Koster, Tony Lee, George McAfee, and Roger Stafford.

Covers: *Front:* 7¼" x 5½" celluloid button, black/gold/tinted picture; *Back:* paper, brown/black

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Summer issue of *The Keynoter* will feature a potpourri of "homeless" articles and pictures on a variety of topics.

The Badge That McKinley Wore

By John Gingerich

The big event in Macon, Georgia occurred just six days before Christmas 1898, but the newspapers had carried stories of President McKinley's coming visit since December 6 when McKinley sent a telegram saying that he would come to Macon, Georgia after his visit to the Atlanta Peace Jubilee if his "itinerary permits." On December 8, the headlines read, "My heart is with the South." Excitement grew each day as new stories were printed and more arrangements were made.

On December 13, the presidential party left Washington, D.C., made a few whistlestops in Virginia, and arrived in Atlanta the 14th for a two day visit to the Great Atlanta Peace Jubilee. The Southern Railway provided a special train, "The Finest Ever Seen in the South — A Veritable Palace on Wheels," including a private car, the Candania, for the President and Mrs. McKinley, and special drawing room cars for the whole party.

And what a party it was! The President and First Lady, the President's secretary, Mr. John Addison Porter and wife, Secretary of Treasury Gage and wife, Secretary of War Alger, wife and maid, Secretary of the Navy Long and daughter, Secretary of Agriculture Wilson and daughter, Postmaster General Smith and wife, Senator Bacon, Major General Lawton and wife, Major General Shafter and wife, the ex-Confederate Major General "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler and daughter, various other military men, and a host of newspaper correspondents from around the country.

On the 16th of December, McKinley arrived in Montgomery, Alabama, where he spoke at a historic Negro church known as the "Old Ship." He highly praised the work of Booker T. Washington in uplifting the Negro race. The church was beautifully decorated with a picture of the President and a picture of Booker T. Washington underneath, "which he gazed upon with much interest." Mrs. Hereford, reputed to be Montgomery's sweetest singer, had prepared a patriotic song in which the names of McKinley, Hobart and Booker T. Washington were contained. "Its rendition brought tears to the eyes of the President, nor was he the only one so affected."

On December 17th, the presidential party went to Tuskegee, Alabama to visit the Tuskegee Normal School, presided over by Booker T. Washington. The visit of the President of the United States, his Cabinet, the Governor of Alabama John Farney Johnston, and members of his staff, was the principle event of the year for the Negro school. The Alabama State Legislature was invited, too, and it adjourned and went to Tuskegee as a body. Six thousand visitors were reported in attendance, while McKinley and his party took a short ride about the grounds of the school. Afterwards there was a general exhibition of the school in floats and wagons that were

viewed from a grandstand, amid speeches, singing and much handshaking. The President's train left Tuskegee bound for Savannah, Georgia, later that evening.

The *Boston Transcript* saw a significance in "President McKinley's choice of Tuskegee as a prominent objective of his Southern trip." Although Booker T. Washington had worked for McKinley's rival, William B. Allison, for the Republican nomination in 1896, he publicly endorsed McKinley against Bryan in the general election. At the Chicago Peace Jubilee earlier in 1898, Booker T. Washington was the President's guest at a luncheon, setting the scene for Teddy Roosevelt's more famous luncheon three years later.

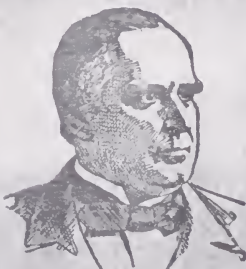
Meanwhile, in Macon, the local newspapers contained extensive news about the President's activities, the grand plans for his appearance in Macon, and advertisements from several local merchants using McKinley's name. The Mix Shoe Company advertised, "President McKinley and General Wheeler and lots of the biggest guns from all over the country will be here, and if you want ease and comfort while viewing these notable people . . ." you should buy their product. A Sunday, December 18th ad began, "Hathnace and Rountree — Hail to the Chief! Every lady in Central and Southwest Georgia should come to Macon tomorrow to pay tribute to the nation's President and to witness the greatest military review ever witnessed in this city and to take advantage of the many special offerings we have for your Christmas purchasing!" For five days before the event, the Southern Railroad ran ads in both the morning and evening Macon papers offering special low rates to Macon to come and see the President, his party and "seven thousand troops in line."

Around 7 a.m. on the 19th of December, the crowd began to gather at Macon's Union Depot. The sky was overcast, with a dense mass of threatening clouds. The occasional drops of rain soon gave way to a steady penetrating drizzle that did not dampen the spirits of the crowd. It was reported "at least 10,000 people lined the sidewalks." The Seventh Cavalry was drawn up on either side of the street, and further up the street, seven more regiments stood ready, waiting for the presidential party to pass.

At 8:30, as the train pulled into the depot, it was met by steam whistles, bells, and loud cheers from the assembled crowd. When the train fully stopped, President McKinley made an appearance on the rear platform of the observation car. This caused a fresh outburst from the crowd, with more whistles and bells, while the Seventh Cavalry band played "All Hail to the Chief." As the President stepped from the train, he was introduced to the Welcoming Committee as were the rest of the presidential party, until "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler emerged. This event caused the



WELCOME!



BIBB COUNTY CAMP,

No. 484,

CONFEDERATE VETERANS,

MACON, GA.,

Dec. 19, 1898.

"Every soldier's grave made during the unfortunate civil war is a tribute to American valor, and while when those graves were made the differed widely about the future of the Government, those differences were long ago settled by the arbitrament of arms, and the time has come, in the evolution of sentiment and feeling, in the providence of God, when in the spirit of fraternity we should share with you in the care of the graves of Confederate soldiers."

400 Confederate veterans assembled to give the "rebel yell" that they hadn't used in over 30 years. General Wheeler had been a Confederate general in the Civil War, and was called the "Hero of Santiago" from his service in the recent Spanish-American War. As reported in the *Macon Telegraph*, one Negro asked another as General Wheeler passed, "Is dat de little ole man what whipped all dem Spaniels?" "He sho is," was the reply. "Good Lord, Ermighty! Dem Spaniels must be mighty easy to whip, 'cus I could whip him myself."

As McKinley and his party were leaving the depot to board their carriages, the most significant event of the entire trip occurred, although few people realized it at the time. The President was stopped by Colonel Wiley, the Commander of the Bibb County Confederate Veterans Association, who welcomed him to Macon and the South. Colonel Wiley gave McKinley a parchment with gold letters containing the words the President had spoken in Atlanta at the Peace Jubilee in regard to honoring the graves of the Confederate dead. Then another Confederate veteran, Dr. Roland Hall, pinned a ribbon on the President which contained these same words. While all this was occurring, a Confederate veteran moved the Confederate flag over the President's head. "He can't say now that he never stood beneath the Stars and Bars," remarked another veteran.

As soon as McKinley had passed, "Fightin' Joe" also came through, was stopped and greeted by the veterans. He too was "pinned." Both men were seen to wear their badges for the remainder of the Macon tour.

The party boarded their fifteen carriages and passed to the reviewing stand, followed by the seven regiments to be reviewed by the distinguished Washington visitors. All 250 young women from Wesleyan Women's College were lined up behind the brick fence at that institution, and all waved small U.S. flags as the President passed. It was said that McKinley was greatly pleased by the tribute, and bowed repeatedly to the young ladies.

Everywhere, the presidential party was greeted by excited citizens waving flags, both U.S. and Confederate. All along the route taken by the carriages, houses had colorful patriotic decorations.

The first regiment to pass the reviewing stand was the Third Engineers, with redlined capes; next, the Second Ohio, then the Third Brigade, Colored, which consisted of four regiments, the Seventh Volunteer Immunes, the Tenth Volunteer Immunes, the Third North Carolina, and the Sixth Virginia; the last regiment to pass was the Seventh Cavalry, with sabres drawn and yellow capes thrown back.

As the band of each white regiment passed the reviewing stand, which happened to be surrounded by Confederate veterans, it played "Dixie" — except the Second Ohio, McKinley's home state unit, which had finished playing "Dixie" by the time they reached the reviewing stand and swung right into a stirring rendition of "Marching through Georgia," but this too was met with cheers by the Southern crowd on this patriotic day.

As was noted in the *Macon Telegraph*, "Dat sounds jes

lack music for a cake walk,' remarked a dudish-looking Negro as one of the Negro regiments passed the President's stand playing a lively air. The darkie was a prominent personage among the crowds, for were there not four regiments made up of men of his own race and was he not needed there to cheer them? They did cheer every time a colored regiment came by, and be it said to their credit the colored soldier was not to be laughed at.

"As one lady expressed it, 'They looked like big bisque figures. Their lines were in most cases perfect, and with the natural intuition of time, they kept step with the inspiring strains of the bands, and made the appearance of one solid wall of bronze men as they passed the stand.' "

As the last of the troops had passed the reviewing stand, the signal was given and the guard ropes were dropped to let the multitude approach the stand. It was a great rush, with much talking and laughing. Another note in the paper read, "'Get outen de way, an' lemme see de sho' nuff ginuine Uncle Sam,' was the excited remark of a big Negro woman as she pushed her way through the crowd to see the President."

Judge Emory Speer raised his hands to clap as he began to introduce the President, which of course increased the cheers. McKinley made a short patriotic speech, saying "Never was there a more magnificent Army mustered; and never was an Army mustered for a holier cause or under a more glorious flag than the Stars and Stripes."

Following the President's short five paragraph speech, the speeches continued, mostly short considering the weather. Generals Wheeler, Shafter and Lawton stepped up, looked around, and sat down without uttering a word.

Then General Wilson gave a rousing patriotic speech, to almost continuous cheering, saying that McKinley had "done more for [the great American nation] than any president since the days of Washington, for he has added vastly to its extent and striven to make it a continental republic as the fathers designed it to be. He has extended its borders to such a distance that the sun rises upon it in the east before it sets upon it in the west. Twelve thousand miles to the west lie the Phillippines, our Oriental possessions, and two thousand miles to the east the beautiful island of Puerto Rico. A line joining one extremity to the other of these new possessions reaches halfway around the earth. But splendid as the President's work has been, there still remains greater work for him to do. It is glorious work, and don't you forget it. It is work which justifies the President in saying we are at last all one, and that the Confederate soldier should receive the same as the Federal soldier. This is work which the American people are profoundly interested in, for it touches their permanent and paramount interests, and I hope to see it speedily accomplished. I hope to see the day when our starry flag shall float everywhere from the frozen north to the sunny clime of central America. We are too big and powerful and progressive to have neighbors on this continent, and I trust that before the next administration of the President closes, the flag will fly over every foot of the continent from the northern extremity of the Dominion of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico."

After the speeches, the presidential party boarded the carriages and took a short tour of the city. Finally returning to the Union Depot, the party boarded the train, expressing regret that their time in Macon was so limited. The train left the station at 10:56 a.m. President McKinley and his wife stood in the doorway of the rear coach waving goodbye.

The visit of William McKinley and his party to Atlanta, Tuskegee, Macon and the South in general, did much to heal the nation's wounds from the Civil War. The acknowledgement of Confederate soldiers and of black educators and citizens by an ex-Union soldier and Republican president was truly a progressive occasion in post-Civil War history. The people who for so long had been without a voice in the White House found a new champion.

The aftermath of President McKinley's visit to Macon can best be described in the newspaper accounts of the succeeding days. On the 29th, 30th and 31st of December, the following articles ran in the Macon newspapers.

Macon News: "The Badge that McKinley Wore"

"Macon seems to have furnished the most sensational incident of President McKinley's Southern trip, in that Dr. Roland B. Hall, a member of the Bibb County Camp of Confederate Veterans which met and welcomed the President upon his arrival in Macon, pinned one of the veteran's badges on President McKinley's coat.

"This incident has been published throughout the country, and this had led to numerous requests for badges as souvenirs of the occasion. Colonel C.M. Wiley has received several requests for these badges, as has Dr. Hall, mainly from Northerners. It has been necessary to make more badges in order to supply the demand, and yesterday, the *News* struck off for Colonel Wiley a new lot for distribution as souvenirs.

"The badge worn by the Confederate Veterans, and also by President McKinley on the occasion in question, was designed and presented to the Veterans by Mr. Tom W. Loyless, editor of *The News*. They were made of Confederate grey satin ribbon, three inches wide by ten long, printed in blue and set off at the top by a narrow patriotic ribbon. The badges were hastily made, only about three hours being allowed in which to turn them out, but it was the general verdict they were peculiarly appropriate to the occasion. The badge has since become famous by reason of the fact that it was worn by an ex-Union soldier and Republican President."

Macon Telegraph: "That Badge The President Wore" "Incident has Created a Great Demand for Confederate Badges" "Macon Man Doing a Rushing Business"

"The Confederate badge episode, furnished by Macon during President McKinley's recent Southern trip, has suddenly made Macon and those connected with the badge incident famous. The Northern newspapers have been full of it, and now comes the magazines with requests for pictures of Dr. Hall, the confederate veteran, who pinned the badge on McKinley's coat.

"But of greater interest still is the tremendous demand

that has been created for these badges. First came requests from northern cities, where the badge episode attracted attention, and an extra lot of badges were struck off in order to gratify these requests.

"But the demand for badges has grown from day to day, until it is no longer possible to supply all those who make requests. Many of these souvenir hunters have sent money, as much as a dollar in one or two instances, asking that one of these badges be procured for them at any price. Some have even made the request that a picture of the badge be sent them, if it was impossible for them to secure a badge. Hundreds are being struck off every day, but still it is impossible to meet the demand. Hundreds of soldiers now encamped at Macon made a rush for the badges and it is said that scores of badges changed hands at prices greatly in excess of their real value.

"Today a prominent local business firm of considerable means made a proposition [to the *Macon News*] to buy the copyright and have 10,000 of these badges struck off at once. They proposed to sell them throughout the Union, and say they stand ready to invest a considerable sum in the enterprise.

"But, so far, the gentleman who originated and presented the badges to the Confederate veterans for use on the occasion that has been so widely talked about and written about, has refused to sell the copyright. That man is Mr. Tom W. Loyless, editor of the *Evening News*. It was through his suggestion that the Confederate veterans met and welcomed President McKinley upon his arrival to Macon. Mr. Loyless suggested that it would be a graceful recognition of President McKinley's famous Atlanta speech if the Bibb County veterans would march to the depot and welcome him to Macon. Judge Emory Speer, Chairman of the committee, warmly advocated the suggestion, and foretold the effect of such an act upon the country at large.

"Editor Loyless had offered to furnish the veterans with appropriate badges, and so he designed and had struck off 100 badges at *The News* office. But there were nearly 150 veterans in line that morning, so that some of them did not wear badges, the number of them greatly exceeding what was anticipated.

"It was one of these badges that President McKinley wore while in Macon, being the first time a president of the United States ever wore a Confederate badge. And it is this badge that has since become famous. Dr. Roland B. Hall and Colonel C.M. Wiley greeted the President as he passed through the gate at the depot in company with Judge Emory Speer, and while Colonel Wiley presented the President with a parchment on which was printed the famous extract from his Atlanta speech, Dr. Hall asked him to wear one of the veteran's badges, which he graciously consented to do, the same being conspicuously displayed on his coat during his stay in Macon, and afterwards taken to Washington as a souvenir of the occasion.

"It was published the next day and it has been repeatedly published since, that the President hesitated to accept the badge, saying, 'I don't know that it would be right.' That

nothing of the sort occurred is vouched for by Judge Speer, Dr. Hall, Colonel Wiley, and others who were present. The reporter who published the statement has since admitted that he heard no such words, but that the incident was told to him. So far from hesitating to wear the badge, the President thanked the veterans for the compliment paid him and afterwards remarked that it was one of the happiest incidents of his Southern trip.

"Strange to say, those who were connected with the badge incident had no idea that they were doing anything out of the ordinary, but the publications that have been made all over the North concerning the badge episode has made the incident and the badge itself famous. So much so that the badge-making threatens to become a chief industry in Macon, and *The Evening News* may be forced to put in special machinery to supply the demand. At any rate, arrangements have been made to have 10,000 badges made up at once."

Macon News: "The Badge that has Become Famous"
"Wanted by Local Business Man who Proposes to Advertise Them" "Has been Copyrighted"

"The Confederate badge that McKinley wore has suddenly become famous. *The News* is being besieged with requests for these badges. Colonel Wiley, Dr. Hall and other prominent Confederate veterans are receiving letters almost every day from nearly every Northern state asking for one of these badges.

"The fact that an ex-Union soldier and Republican President wore one of these badges and kept it as a souvenir of his Southern trip seems to have created amazement throughout the North, and now everybody wants one of these badges as a souvenir. *The News* has turned out four additional lots of badges since President McKinley made them famous, and the cry is still for more. *The News* has bought up every yard of Confederate grey ribbon in Macon of suitable size and these hundreds of yards of ribbon have been made into badges, the facsimile of the one worn by the President. But orders continue to come in.

"The badge has attracted such widespread interest that one of Macon's most prominent business men saw in it a good thing, and yesterday made *The News* a proposition for 10,000 of these badges. He suggested that the badge be copyrighted which has been done so that now *The News* has the sole right to issue the genuine Confederate badge that McKinley wore.

"So many orders came in yesterday that *The News* was forced to turn out another gross of these badges, and less than half of these remained today at noon. The demand grows greater every day, and it is not impossible that *The News* will have to secure extra facilities for manufacturing these badges.

"You have got a little gold mine," said a prominent clothing merchant to *The News* today, "and I would like to go in with you in manufacturing these badges and sell them throughout the country." In the meantime, *The News* continues to turn out facsimiles of the famous badge, and now that the same has been copyrighted, it is impossible for the souvenir hunter to secure them elsewhere."

Macon News: "That Badge"

"In viewing the position taken by many Northern newspapers, it is pleasing to note the views of the *Indianapolis News* relative to the Confederate badge episode. *The News* says, "The recent trip of the President through the South has been justly recognized all over the country as of far-reaching import. It is significant of a generally sensible and generous attitude that little of the comment on it was unfavorable. The little adverse criticism made has been of so violent and unreasoning a nature as to carry little weight. The event — it is more than an episode — illustrated a trait in the President's character which some have been inclined to deny him, namely

courage. Many have thought of the President as rather a follower of his advisors than a leader. But in his addresses in Southern cities, and in his action in pinning on the Confederate badge, he certainly showed that he possessed courage. The act was certain to arouse hostile criticism. In braving this criticism, the President showed that he was not only on the side of progress and generosity, but that he was fearless to make the fact known."

NOTE: It is not known how many of these ribbons were actually printed and sent out, but it seems amazing that so few have turned up in the hobby considering that even discounting the hyperbole of the moment, a great many must have been distributed around the nation.★

ITEMS OF INTEREST



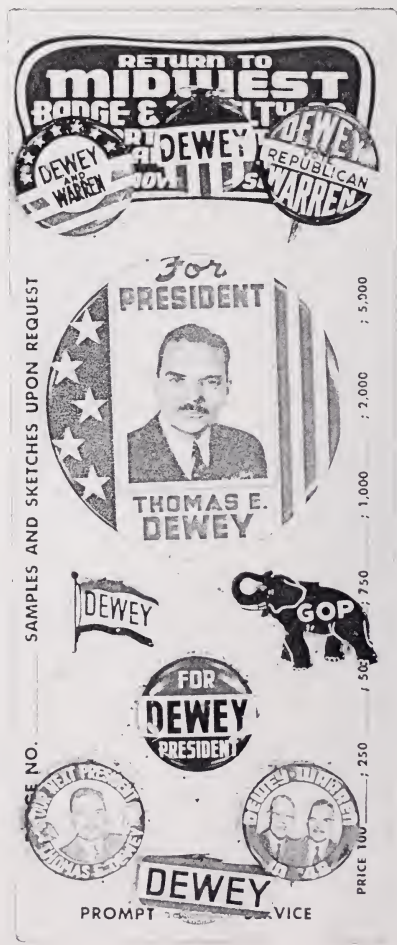
Front

THIS BANK IS THE PROPERTY
OF
**THE DEMOCRATIC STATE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**
When filled return by registered
mail to Headquarters at
**210 CONGRESS BLDG.
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
4631**

Reverse

Celluloid/Metal Bank - 1916
The picture is 1912, but the slogan is 1916

Button Sample Card — Contains
elusive 1948 Dewey-Warren Jugate
and unusual 2 1/4" picture pin



The Cox Train Placard

by Roger Stafford

In the often baffling puzzle of American politics, memorabilia are the pieces. Some pieces simply tell collectors who won or lost, but others provide a backdrop for our quadrennial exercise in democracy.

L. E. Medding, conductor on the Cox Special to Dayton, Ohio, knew he was playing a small role in political history 70 years ago. To ensure that he would be remembered he penciled this message on the back of this 6½-inch by 10-inch train window placard.

Marion Ohio Aug 7-20

I the undersigned Conductor on the Cox special train to Dayton Ohio do hereby certify that there were 1154 people from Marion to Dayton Ohio.

L. E. Medding

In the days before pre-election polls and nationally broadcast press conferences, Conductor Medding probably thought Ohio Governor James M. Cox stood a good chance against Republican Senator Warren G. Harding. After all, Harding had yet to set foot off the front porch of his Queen Anne style residence in Marion!

Little is known about the Cox Special, but it definitely was part of the August 7 festivities in Dayton at which Governor Cox formally accepted his party's nomination.



Numerous other trains made their way to Dayton to cheer for Cox and his youthful running-mate, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Marion Star, published by the Republican nominee, devoted nearly a column of its August 7 issue to the Democratic gathering in Dayton. It revealed that "Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland furnished the largest Ohio delegations," and admitted that contingents of 1,000 came from Indianapolis, 200 from Philadelphia, 300 from Chicago and 300 from Pittsburgh. There was no mention of the Cox Special stopping in Marion and, as if to downplay the day even more, the story appeared on page 2 just two columns away from an "unusual photograph" of Republican candidate Harding "busy in the makeup room of his newspaper."

The Cox Special undoubtedly originated north of Marion and probably carried the bulk of the Cleveland contingent. It was on the Big Four (Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis) line, which operated a major yard in Marion. Authorities at Trains Magazine estimate that at least 25 passenger coaches would have been required to accommodate the 1,154 passengers. The number actually boarding in Marion is unknown, but the city did have its share of Democrats and Democratic office-holders prior to the Harding victory which turned the electorate solidly Republican.

In the corner of the train window placard that went on board in Marion was a partially erased notation that "no tickets were sold," somewhat blurring the loyalties of the riders. But even though the trip was a "free ride," it could not help but impress Harding when many of his fellow Marionites joined the Cox Special on a very hot day in August. The Star reported that the day shaped up as a "scorcher" and the sweat must have flowed freely in the jammed coaches. Less than a month later Harding finally ventured off his porch for a short train trip to the Midwest and, at that time, announced plans for a more extensive railroad swing through the East just before the election.

Whether the Cox Special, unmentioned in the Star, affected Harding is open to question. But the symbolism of the Cox Special moving from hometown to hometown may have been one of the more successful ploys in the doomed Democratic campaign. The unusual intrastate campaign turned out to be about as exciting as the average Super Bowl. Cox, a staunch supporter of President Wilson's League of Nations, gave an estimated 394 speeches in 36 states while Harding continued to spend most of his time on the porch. One account indicated that Cox traveled more than 22,000 miles in an effort that won his ticket only 34.9% of the popular vote to 61.6% for Harding.

The Medding-inscribed "Coxsure" placard, with its Marion union label, is one of two in a private collection. The rooster, "Coxsure" and the union label are in red, while Marion is printed in black. It is not a particularly valuable item from a campaign that produced some of America's most prized political memorabilia. But it is a true story item, creating a backdrop for an unlikely campaign pitting two Ohio newspaper publishers against each other for the Presidency.

CASSIUS M. CLAY:

FREEDOM FIGHTER

By George McAfee

The atmosphere was charged with tension. Most of the partisan crowd at Russel's Cave Springs already resented Cassius Clay's presence at the rally, and his frequent interruptions of the speaker quickly led to threats and worse. One ruffian named Brown called Clay a "damned liar" and began beating him about the head with a leaded whip handle. The crowd restrained them both before Clay could defend himself. Then Brown broke loose from those holding him, pulled a pistol and said, "Stand back, let me kill the damned rascal!" Clay pulled his bowie knife and charged. Brown waited till point-blank range to fire, but Clay was on him with a vengeance. Before the crowd could separate them again Brown had lost an eye, an ear, part of his nose, and was bleeding profusely from multiple cuts to the scalp. Clay then picked him up and threw him over a bluff into a creek. Finally attending to his own wound he found that his silver knife scabbard had deflected Brown's bullet and he suffered only a red spot over his heart. Arrested and charged with mayhem, Clay hired his famous kinsman, Henry Clay, to defend him. The Gallant Harry never lost a criminal case in the last forty years of his practice and wasn't going to lose this one. He pleaded self defense, saying, "...standing as he did without aiders or abettors, and without popular sympathy; with the fatal pistol of conspired murderers pointed at his heart, would you have him meanly and cowardly fly? Or would you have him to do just what he did do — there stand in defense, or there fall?" Then, turning and pointing his long bony finger toward Cassius, rising to his full height, he declared, "And, if he had not, he would not have been *worthy of the name which he bears!*" The incident is typical both of the intensity of the opposition Clay frequently aroused and the manner in which he met it.

The year after Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin on a hard scrabble, red clay farm in Hardin County, Kentucky, Cassius Marcellus Clay was born in a mansion on a 2,000 acre estate in Madison County blue grass country, only eighty miles away. And while Lincoln was getting little or no formal education, Clay was studying French at St. Joseph's College, a Jesuit preparatory school in Bardstown, being privately tutored in Latin and rhetoric by a Centre College professor in Danville, graduating from Yale University and law school at Transylvania University in Lexington. Despite the divergent backgrounds, the paths and interests of the two would intersect often, each man greatly influencing the other.

When his father, Kentucky pioneer and hero of Ft. Meigs in the War of 1812, General Green Clay, died in 1828, young Clay inherited the estate, along with its slaves,

and a share in his father's 40,000 acre holdings in Tennessee. Wealthy and eighteen years old, he was ready to complete his education. After two years at Transylvania he transferred to Yale.

On the trip to New Haven Clay was armed with letters of introduction to President Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, and other political notables. He was impressed by Jackson's friendliness, especially in view of the president's enmity toward Cousin Henry. In Boston, where he considered Harvard briefly before deciding on Yale, he met John Greenleaf Whittier, Julia Ward Howe, and Edward Everett. At Yale he encountered the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Clay, who had already freed his own slaves, wrote, "As water to a thirsty wayfarer were Garrison's arguments and sentiments; for I had entered Yale with my soul full of hatred of slavery." He resolved "that when I had the strength, if ever, I would give slavery a death struggle."

Back in Kentucky at law school, Clay decided upon a career in politics. He was elected as Madison County's representative to the lower house of the state legislature in 1835, and served two terms before moving to Lexington in Fayette County. In 1839 he was a delegate and Henry Clay's floor leader at the Whig convention in Harrisburg. At the convention he met Horace Greeley and the two became friends. Greeley opened the columns of the *New York Tribune* to his letters and was the first to give Clay's anti-slavery views national visibility.

The issue of the day in the legislature in 1840 was repeal of the Negro Law of 1833, a prohibition against further importation of slaves into Kentucky. The large slave owners did not object to the law on practical grounds since it made their slaves more valuable; people who wanted slaves would have to buy from them. They did object on the philosophical grounds that it was but an opening wedge to emancipation. Running for the legislature from Fayette County, the county with the most slaves in the state, Clay supported the law as being economically good for the county. Winning a narrow victory, the last election he would ever win, he became the leading anti-slavery advocate in the state. His arguments were far different from those of the Northern abolitionists. He saw slavery as an injustice: an injustice to the white citizens of Kentucky and the South.

Clay's point was that the white artisan, mechanic, and small farmer were being reduced to working for the wages of the slave: the shirt on his back and his food. Further, he felt that the existence of slavery prevented the growth of industry and the infrastructure that would come with it. Slaves were not consumers. In New England he had seen



Clay as a Young Man

rich towns, schools, roads, hospitals, factories, banks, and merchants all prospering with free labor. His vision for Kentucky, with her vast fertile lands and her mineral-rich mountains, was one of prosperity and internal improvements far outstripping New England's if only slavery weren't holding her back.

In another departure from the abolitionists, Cassius Clay insisted on lawful, constitutional emancipation. He had no sympathy with those who saw a moral law above the constitution. With him it was not a matter of conscience or morality, but of economics, and the right of the majority under law. He wanted to make his arguments so logically and forcefully that the non-slave owning majority of Kentuckians would come around to his views. He amassed statistics showing how the slave states lagged the free states, and inferred that slavery was the cause.

After his single term representing Fayette County, he retired from the legislature, but continued the anti-slavery fight. He spoke widely and wrote newspaper columns and letters to editors, and campaigned for emancipationist candidates. It was in such a campaign in 1843 that he was "respectfully and politely" correcting the facts of the pro-slavery speaker when he encountered the unfortunate Mr. Brown at Russel's Cave Springs.

In 1844 Henry Clay finally achieved the Whig nomination. When it became evident that the abolitionists in the East were likely to cut into the Whig vote by running one



Lithograph by C. Severin from a Daguerrotype by Plumbe - 1846

of their own, Liberty Party candidate James G. Birney, Henry Clay asked "Cousin Cash" to campaign for him there. Cassius was an effective campaigner with his powerful voice, strong resilient physique, and wide reputation in the North as an emancipationist. He drew large and enthusiastic crowds over the three months in which he campaigned. In the end, though, the campaign failed. He was not radical enough for the abolitionists; he lacked the religious zeal that motivated them. They viewed him as only an emissary from Henry Clay. And he tried to paint Henry Clay as an anti-slavery man, a view that slave-owning Henry had to quickly disavow to avoid losing Southern votes. The Whigs' worst fears came true when Birney got enough votes in New York, where Cassius had worked the hardest, to throw the state, and the election, to James K. Polk.

The result of the election convinced Cassius Clay that the national Whig party would never be the vehicle to unify opposition to slavery. He advocated a new party made up of anti-slavery Whigs and the minority Liberty party. He wrote to Liberty party organizer, Salmon P. Chase, "The Whigs number nearly one half of the nation, the Liberty men hold the balance of power." He contended that such a party could win a national election without southern votes. Ten years before the birth of the Republican party, Clay saw the combination of forces that it would come to represent.

In the meantime, local opposition built to such a point that newspapers would no longer print his letters or even print the schedule of his speeches. He concluded it was time to establish his own newspaper. He leased a sturdy brick building in Lexington, lined the doors and shutters with sheet iron, and had two brass four-pounder cannon loaded with shot and nails mounted breast-high on a table facing the narrow front door. He also stocked the shop with a quantity of loaded muskets, pistols and pikes. He built an escape hatch to the roof to allow his press men and supporters to leave if his fortress were successfully breached. He intended to stay behind to set off three barrels of powder he had stacked in a corner. The first issue of *The True American* came off the press June 3, 1845, under the motto "GOD & LIBERTY!" The paper was never a financial success. The peak subscription list in Kentucky was 700, and less than 3000 nation wide. Its influence, however, was far greater than the numbers would indicate. The anti-slavery North was thrilled that Cash Clay was successfully publishing an emancipationist newspaper in a slave state. His editorials were widely reprinted all across the North. In Lexington his pro-slavery neighbors resented Clay's belligerent and intemperate attacks. After a particularly objectionable article a mob calling itself a committee resolved to destroy the nuisance. Clay having told "the cowardly assassins that C. M. Clay knows his rights and how to defend them", they waited until he was delirious with typhoid fever, broke into the office of *The True American* at night, crated up the press and printing apparatus, and shipped it to Cincinnati. The abolitionist movement had a new martyr. Clay's fame soared. N. Currier printed a portrait of the "Champion of Liberty." Large lithographs were sold all over the North. Clay addressed an enthusiastic crowd of thousands at Broadway Tabernacle in New York. *The True American* continued, still with a Lexington dateline, but published in Cincinnati.

By 1848 Cash had fallen out with Cousin Henry and was instrumental in throwing Kentucky's support to Zachary Taylor in the National Whig convention, although he did little campaigning for Taylor. He noted with interest that the anti-slavery party, this time the Free Soilers under Martin Van Buren, again held the balance of power, taking enough Democratic votes from Lewis Cass to throw the election to Taylor. By 1851 Clay would be an active Free Soiler on the national scene, but first he started his own Kentucky Liberty Party as an instrument to elect delegates to a new constitutional convention.

The repeal of the Negro Law and the resultant influx of slaves had convinced many respectable Kentuckians to favor gradual emancipation and they hoped to incorporate some such plan in the new constitution. Clay began an extensive speaking campaign for emancipation delegates. At Foxtown, after Clay had finished speaking, an argument broke out and a man named Cyrus Turner struck Clay in the face. He reached for his bowie knife, but it was wrested from him by others in the crowd so he slugged Turner with his fist, knocking him back into the crowd. A free-for-all broke out and a number of Turner's



"Champion of Liberty" by Currier

relatives began attacking Clay. One had a heavy stick and began beating him on the head and back. Someone plunged a knife deep into his right side. Another held a six-barreled pistol to his head and pulled the trigger three times, fortunately without the powder igniting. In desperation and nearly blind with blood and pain he spotted his knife in someone's hand. He grabbed the blade in his hand and twisted it free, cutting three of his fingers to the bone. Enraged, he caught Turner and drove in the knife to the hilt just below the navel. The Lexington papers the next day reported that Mr. Clay was dead and that Mr. Turner was not expected to live. Indeed, Turner died but Clay, thanks to his iron will and rugged constitution, eventually recovered, although he would suffer intermittent chest pain the rest of his life. To the local populace, Turner was a martyr and Clay "a damned nigger agitator." Not a single emancipationist candidate won a seat in the constitutional convention, and on the slavery issue the new constitution was totally perpetualist.

In 1851 Clay announced as his party's candidate for Governor. He received only 3621 votes out of more than 100,000 cast, but enough Whigs voted for him to throw the election to the Democratic candidate who won by a margin of only 850 votes. As he had seen other anti-slavery candidates do in national elections, Clay had held the balance of power. From now on, though, Clay's efforts would take place at the national level.

In the Free-Soil Party convention in Cleveland in 1852 some members had talked of nominating Clay for vice-president, but he preferred to "wait the tide of success, or hold the first place in a 'forlorn hope.'" He was not



Clay in Middle Age

disappointed, therefore, with the ticket of John P. Hale and George Julian. Again, Clay campaigned widely, but with little success. The party gathered even fewer votes than it had in 1848. When the Republican party was formed of disaffected Whigs and various abolitionist groups, including the Free-Soilers, Clay became a charter member.

Although he had known Mary Todd in Lexington, Clay met Abraham Lincoln, country lawyer, temperance speaker, and one-term Whig ex-congressman, for the first time in 1854 when he spoke in Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln, like many Conscience Whigs who opposed the spread of slavery, despaired of ever getting rid of it where it existed. After the speech, Clay and Lincoln discussed slavery, and after hearing Clay's further detailing of his position, Lincoln said, "Yes, I have always felt, Mr. Clay, that the man who grows the corn should eat the corn," an attitude variations of which he would often express in the Senatorial debates four years later. Clay always felt that the seeds he had sown bore quick fruit, for two weeks later Lincoln spoke fervently against the Kansas-Nebraska Act in Winchester, Illinois.

In 1856 Clay was genuinely in hope of a spot on the national Republican ticket. A number of party officials had indicated support for him for the top spot, but at the convention it was to be John C. Fremont. In the selection for the vice-president, in which the still unknown Abraham Lincoln showed surprising strength, Clay received a few complimentary votes, but the nomination went to Wm. L. Dayton. Clay, along with fellow disappointed hopeful friends Chase and Seward, campaigned enthusiastically. Fremont did exceptionally well for the first presidential candidate of a new party. He had 1.3 million popular votes and got the electoral votes of all but four of the northern states.

Clay continued his speaking after the election and became an active candidate for the next election. His name was now a household word; as a Southerner he would defuse the sectionalism issue that had bedeviled Fremont, he would even form a southern wing of the party; and he had served the anti-slavery cause and the Republican party longer without reward than anyone else. *Harpers Weekly* printed his picture along with those of other hopefuls. The New York Young Men's Republican Union organized a meeting at which political aspirants would speak to metropolitan voters. The secretary told Cassius, "Confidentially... the whole thing is intended by me as a Clay demonstration." Clay gave a rousing speech and received a standing, shouting ovation with whoops of "Clay for President." In the end it didn't matter; New York would back Seward at the convention. More significantly, the next speaker on the Cooper Institute program was Abraham Lincoln.

At the convention Clay initially backed his friend Salmon P. Chase. Seward had turned him off with the declaration that he favored the Union with or without slavery. However, if Seward, the heavy favorite, were the candidate, Clay's chances for the vice-presidential nomination were excellent. With Chase receiving little support, and finding little for himself, Clay turned to a new champion. He spoke to several state delegations. A Michigan delegate recalled that the man who made history "was not of the North nor of the East, but one of the great Southern leaders, one representing a territory whence treason, not loyalty, was to be expected. I speak of Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky."

"We are on the eve of a great civil war," Clay told the delegates. The smiles of the delegates at his opening stung Cash. He drew himself up in a commanding position, and continued, "You may have heard that remark before, but its truth will soon be brought home to you... We are from the South and the South is preparing for war. We know what your platform intentions are," he thundered, "and I am here to say that if a nominee is presented [subscribing to] that platform the South will attempt to dissolve the Union... It makes a great difference to you whom you nominate. It makes a more vital difference to us. Our homes and all we possess are in peril. We demand a candidate who will inspire our confidence and courage... Give us Abraham Lincoln and we will push your battle line back from the Ohio to the Tennessee where it belongs."

Seward was stopped just short of nomination on the first ballot. Lincoln began to develop strength on the second ballot, and on the third Ohio gave its Chase votes to Lincoln, whose nomination was eventually made unanimous. Clay had given up any chance he may have had as the vice-presidential nominee. Like himself, Lincoln was a Kentucky native and a former Whig. Ticket balancing required a Northerner who was a former Democrat, and preferably a Seward backer. Clay received 10½ votes on the first ballot to Hannibal Hamlin's 194. On the second vote Hamlin won enough of the favorite son votes to secure the nomination. As a consolation to Clay, the delegates dutifully offered him three cheers.



Prominent Candidates for the Republican Nomination - 1860

Clay made over 100 personal appearances during the campaign, and felt certain of a cabinet position. He had discussed his becoming Secretary of War with Lincoln, and thought he had Lincoln's backing. Lincoln, though, however much he wanted God on his side, had to have Kentucky, and in Kentucky, Cass Clay was anathema. In view of Clay's years of belligerence and militancy, his promotion would appear as a declaration of war against the state. Lincoln felt the best thing was to get the incendiary Clay out of the country and so appointed him ambassador to Russia.

Clay arrived in Washington in April of 1861 to find the city in turmoil. Sumter had been fired on, the city was full of Southern sympathizers and surrounded by slave territory, and no militia had arrived from the North. Clay seized the initiative and organized a battalion of non-descript vigilantes to guard the capital until help arrived. The Cassius M. Clay Guards consisted of congressmen, generals, clerks, and salesmen, and although it did little to ease the tension, it saved the Navy Yard from possible sabotage and guarded the White House against would-be assassins. Swashbuckling Clay, with his elegant sword and three pistols at his waist, was the center of attention. He was a colonel in the militia and had been a captain in his father's old regiment in the Mexican War, and for a while he envisioned a military command. When Federal troops finally made it through Maryland, Lincoln gave Clay a commendation and a huge Colt revolver. Clay decided in the end to accept the political appointment.

Clay cut a wide swath in St. Petersburg. His popularity and hospitality helped him succeed in his mission to win the support and sympathy of the Russian government. As a member of the southern planter aristocracy he fit right in with the Russian nobility and his school-boy French was good enough for him to get by at court, but it was his dinners and entertainments that were his solution to the problems of diplomacy. They were rivaled only by the Czar's and for a time his Bluegrass Punch, laced liberally with the best Kentucky bourbon, was as popular in the diplomatic community as champagne.

It was inevitable that Clay's natural pugnacity and his popularity with the ladies would bring challenges from rapier-bearing noblemen. But Clay's choice of weapons was always the bowie knife and, unwilling to face the fearsome blade, they backed off and plotted to force Clay to make the challenge so they could choose pistols or swords. At a restaurant two Russians found Clay eating dinner. One of them slapped Clay across the face with his gloves, expecting to step back, receive the Minister's card and a challenge to a duel. Instead, in the blink of an eye, Clay rose and smashed a macleike fist into the man's face with such force that he crashed backwards through two nearby tables. With the opposition crushed he calmly resumed his meal.

In 1862 Lincoln commissioned Clay a Major General of Volunteers, sending Simon Cameron temporarily to Russia to get him out of the mismanaged War Department. Back in Washington, Clay tried to impress upon



1860 Ferrotype in Brass Frame —
Only Clay Political Item
Found by Author



Whitehall - Clay Mansion

Lincoln the need to make the war more of an abolitionist fight. Lincoln, having read the election returns of pro-Union candidates Douglas and John Bell, had been convinced he would have to prosecute the war on the basis of the salvation of the Union if he were to have a united North. Clay pointed out that the Europeans cared nothing for the Union, that England and France were about to recognize the Confederacy as a belligerent and offer to mediate a separation, but that a war to abolish slavery would create massive public support abroad. Lincoln temporized and, still fearing the loss of border states to the South, sent Clay to sound out the Kentucky legislature. With most of the Kentuckians sympathetic to the Confederate cause having already gone south to fight with John C. Breckinridge, those remaining could stomach emancipation if it applied only to the secessionist states. As soon as Lee's first invasion of the North in 1862 had been stopped at Antietam, Lincoln released the Emancipation Proclamation.

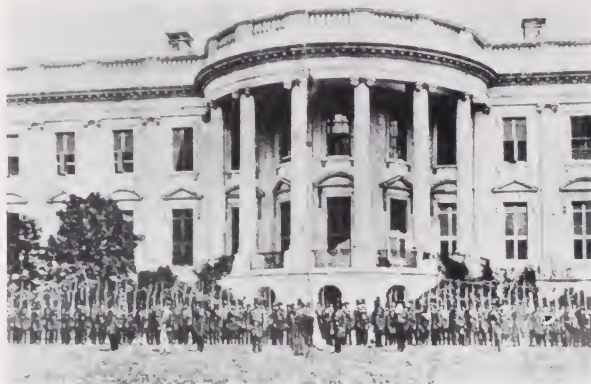
Clay returned to Russia in 1863 secure in the knowledge that slavery was on its way out and that he had played a man-sized part in its end. With the Czar and the prime minister now personally and officially friendly toward the United States and her ambassador, Clay turned his concern to representing U.S. business interests in Russia. His proudest diplomatic achievement was his part in the acquisition of Alaska. As early as 1863 he had "urged Russia to put the privileges" subleased until 1867 to the English Hudson Bay Company "into United States hands." As conversations continued Russia saw that the best way to keep Great Britain out of northern Pacific waters was to sell her distant territory to the United States.

Clay stayed on in Russia until 1869 when he returned at last to his Kentucky mansion, Whitehall. He did not, however, retire from politics. He had become disenchanted with the Radical Republicans for their harsh repressive measures against the former rebel states. It was,

in his view, as unfair to southern whites as slavery had been, and he widely spoke and wrote against administration policy. In 1871 Clay aligned himself with the Liberal Republicans and threw himself into yet another losing campaign, this time for his long-time friend Horace Greeley.

Continuing to condemn Radical rule in the south Clay began carefully cultivating the crop he hoped to reap: nomination in 1876, this time as a Democrat. Speaking extensively in Ohio and Mississippi he stressed the twin themes of black civil rights and state self-rule. In Mississippi Clay helped overthrow the carpetbag regime of Adelbert Ames of Maine. He wrote to friends advocating the nomination of a straight-out Democrat for the top spot and a liberal southerner for vice-president. He was given a good chance, for the second time in his life, of receiving the vice-presidential nomination, and in the second of the two major parties. However, as he had been trapped between the abolitionist cranks of the North and the fanatic slavery interests of the South, now he was the object of the hatred and ridicule of the Grant Republicans of the North and, because of his long and colorful record as a Republican emancipationist, not fully acceptable to the old-line Democrats of the South. So the ticket was not Tilden and the Kentuckian Clay, but Tilden and the Indianan Hendricks. Yet he was virtually assured a high cabinet post — Secretary of War was his choice — when Tilden was elected.

Cash Clay and his cousin Henry would be difficult to beat as a pair of hard luck hopefuls. At least, though, after Rutherford B. Hayes ended military occupation of the south, Clay could take pride in seeing his two life's goals fulfilled: the end of slavery and the restoration of the States to their original sovereignty. His ambition now ended, Clay settled into a life of writing, occasional lectures, farming his estate, and fighting with the local Ku Klux Klan. His irascibility and bluntness soon earned him the title "The Lion of Whitehall."



Volunteers outside the White House on April 29, 1861. The defenders of the White House were under command of Kentucky-born Cassius M. Clay, who had organized these troops before more men could arrive from the North. Washington was partially cut off from the North by Southern sympathizers in Maryland, and there were fears that the capital might fall.

At age 84 he became enamored of the 15 year old daughter of a tenant and married her. His wife had left him not long after he returned from Russia when she learned he had sired a son, later adopted and brought to Whitehall, by a Russian ballerina. The wedding created a sensation and a posse came out from Richmond to rescue the child bride. Clay drove them off with rifle fire and a blast of scrap iron from his cannon. The marriage ended after three years when his new wife decided she wanted to go back to her father's home. She later married a gambler,



Clay on His Second Wedding Day - 1894



Major General Clay - 1863

moonshiner, and counterfeiter named Brock, and talked Clay into taking her back as housekeeper with Brock as tenant farmer. Brock eventually added thievery to his other accomplishments, and Clay drove him off. Brock left with threats that he would come back in force that night to rob and kill him. Clay sent a servant to Richmond for help and when it arrived at dawn, the Old Lion was sitting by the dying embers of the library fireplace, his dressing gown singed. In a pool of blood a man lay dead, a victim of Clay's pistol. Out by the spring house there was another, dead of a deep knife wound just below the navel. Brock escaped.

Clay was not seriously wounded in the fight, but never regained his old vigor. After a steady decline he died in July of 1903 during the worst thunder storm and tornado in central Kentucky history. It tore off barn roofs for miles around and knocked off the head of the Henry Clay statue in Lexington. It was as if nature intended his passing to be as exciting, colorful, and violent as his life had been.★



1 3/4" Celluloid Button

ITEMS OF INTEREST:

1908 Mechanical Postcard

1 1/4" TR Celluloid - Page 16



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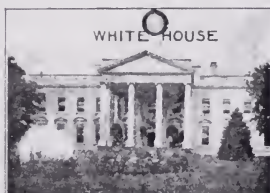
WHITE HOUSE



OUR NEXT



PRESIDENT



WHITE HOUSE

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Spinning The Wheel - Two
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OUR NEXT



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Internal Picture Wheel



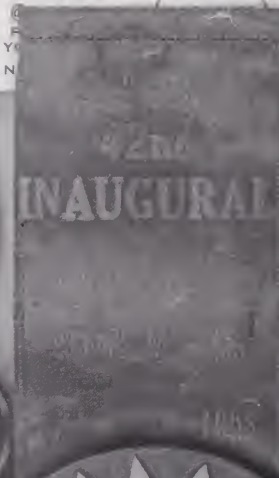
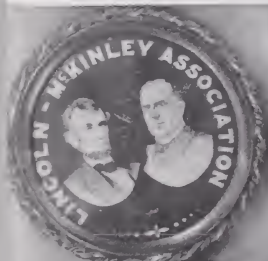
BUTLER
—AND—
WEST!
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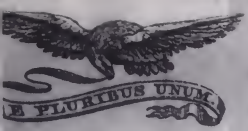
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CLUB RATES			
WEAR	100	@	\$3.00
THIS BUTTON	250	@	\$7.00
AND TAKE A	500	@	\$13.50
REAL G. O. P.	1000	@	\$25.00
BUGGY RIDE	2,500	@	\$55.25 (\$22.50 M)
1936	5,000	@	\$105.00 (\$21.00 M)
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WORCESTER,

Sept. 12, 1860.

**Bell
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VOTE FOR NEITHER 1848-1876

By Robert A. Cutter

Political collectors think of "vote for neither" buttons or other artifacts as a modern phenomenon. Nixon vs. Kennedy. Nixon vs. Humphrey. Goldwater vs. Johnson, etc.

So what about "Neither Grant nor Seymour"? Or "Neither Grant nor Greeley"? A small, but well-publicized movement against both major party nominees — ALL Presidential nominees — existed 1868-1876, and there are artifacts that show it.

Recently, while reading a biography of German revolutionist-journalist-satirist Karl Peter Heinzen (1809-1880), I came across the piece of ephemera illustrated here. "The Independent Ticket for the Presidential Campaign, 1868.

"Neither Grant Nor Seymour!

"No President at all!"

Was this an example of Heinzen's "satire" or real?

Heinzen fled Germany after the unsuccessful 1848 Revolution there, came to America briefly to lecture, then came to stay two years later via Switzerland, France and England. Arriving in New York, he soon was editing a German-language weekly newspaper.

After a series of failures of similar ventures, he moved to Louisville to edit a paper there and again encountered problems, a principal cause of which was his undying opposition to slavery . . . and, as a result, an enmity for the Democratic Party, which he considered the slave party.

Heinzen was often better received among non-Germans, and among his supporters was Horace Greeley, possibly because of his abolitionist views.

In 1853, Heinzen founded his own newspaper, *Der Pionier*, in Louisville, but moved to Cincinnati the next year. A lasting monument to Heinzen's Louisville days was the famed Louisville Platform, which wanted a United States closer to the "original intent" of its founding fathers . . . a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law . . . an end to the "institution" entirely . . . and to "clericalism".

Heinzen's platform also advocated women's and Negro suffrage, protection of the workingman, a Pacific Railroad, a Homestead Act, and many other reforms that actually came to pass through the normal American political system.

But the platform also suggested another radical reform as well: Elimination of the U.S. Presidency. To Heinzen, Presidents smacked too much of kings, and he wanted no part of them.

His paper relocated in New York, then Boston, but no matter where it was centered, its circulation, though small, was nationwide, and frequently Heinzen's Germanic articles and editorials were translated by other papers and reprinted in English everywhere.

American politics interested him from almost the day he arrived, and his reports of the 1852 Democratic and Whig conventions are among the best of that year. Though a Free-Soil Party supporter editorially, and a backer editorially of the new Republican Party (though not of Abraham Lincoln, supporting John C. Fremont in 1864),

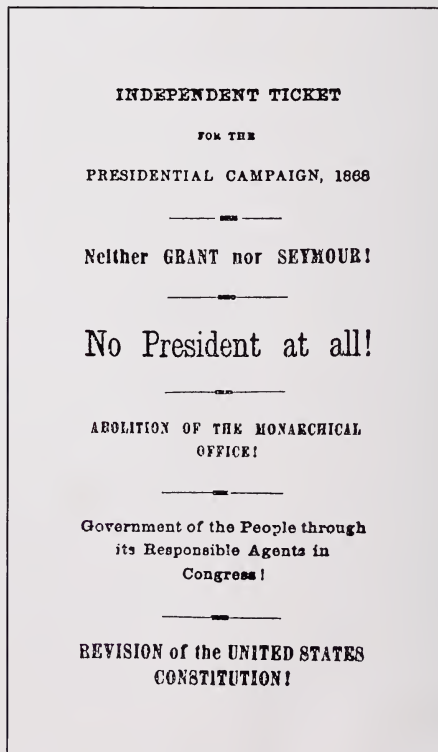
Heinzen refused to affiliate himself personally with any party.

And then there was that Heinzen view of the Presidency as an institution. Nothing more than "a king in dress-coat," he said. Heinzen's solution was to do away with Presidents and Senators, and rely on a unicameral House responsive to the people's will.

In light of the Justice David Souter hearings in 1990, in passing it should be noted that Heinzen thought all judges should be elected (and again fully subject to the people's will) and the U.S. Supreme Court should be abolished in favor of a Congressional Review Board!

In 1867, Heinzen first advocated a new party to abolish both the Presidency and the Senate, "that parliamentary assistant of a reactionary President."

The following year *Der Pionier* printed petitions advocating abolition of the Presidency. Thousands signed



The Ticket of the Heinzen Radicals in the Election Campaign of 1868

these from Boston to Dubuque, and these petitions actually were submitted to the Congress by Senators Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner, and Representative Benjamin Butler.

The *New York Times* editorially derided the movement, but the *London Spectator* discussed it at length. The *Nation* and other U.S. media also took it seriously without endorsing its views.

Grant himself was a principal cause of Heinzen's fanaticism on this point and for his creating not only petitions, but the voting ticket shown here. He distrusted soldier-politicians and was equally disturbed that there were then 28 generals in Congress.

To him, Grant was "qualified only for president of a tobacco or jockey club". Heinzen found some editorial support for his view: the *Chicago Zukunft* referred to Grant as "a smoking, whiskey-drinking Know-Nothing wearer of epaulets". (Any comment about dirty campaigning seems silly after that.)

That fall, Heinzen sponsored and circulated the radical "No President at All" ticket that illustrates this article, printed in Indianapolis and distributed nationally from Boston.

All true radicals were asked to drop them in ballot boxes on election day. They were encouraged by a *Pionier* poem of sorts:

A VOICE TO THE PEOPLE

I would proclaim from shore to shore

Of this beloved land;

O People, lay your might no more

Into a single hand;

And if you cast your vote again

For President, next Fall,

Your tickets let these words contain:

"No President at all!"

About 500 of these tickets were actually used in 1868.

Four years later, Heinzen took no overt action, but supporters of his idea in New York, Brooklyn, Detroit and elsewhere cast protest tickets (some 30,000 were distributed by others in 1872) on election day, but there was no accurate count of their vote by the establishment, though *Der Pionier* estimated a total of 5,000, based on submitted reports.

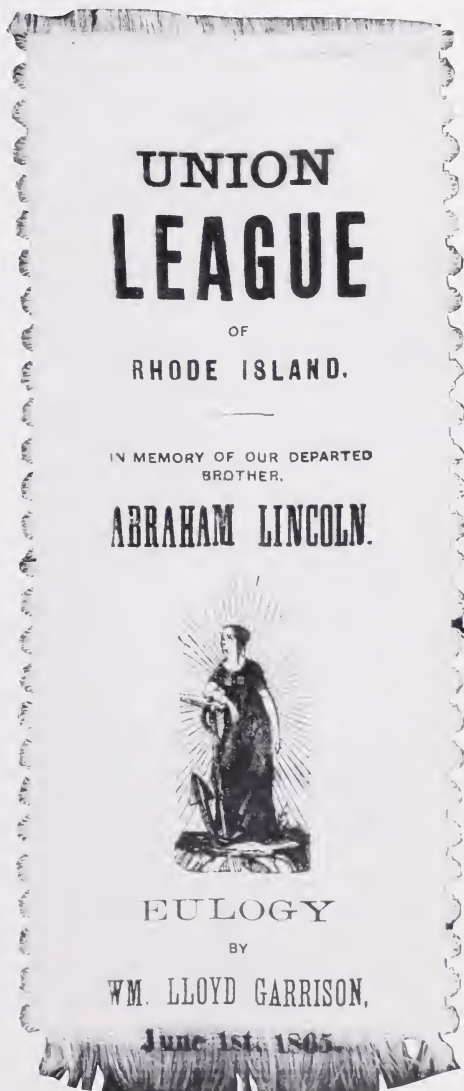
Reported in Carl Wittke's Heinzen biography (*Against the Current*, University of Chicago Press, 1945) was a six-foot-by-three-foot poster that year that read: "Protest Ticket of the Radical Democrats. Neither Grant nor Greeley. No President at all. No More Kings in Dresscoats. Abolition of the Presidency. The Source of all Corruption, all Party Tyranny, and all anti-Republican Intrigues. Annexation of the White House to the Capitol. The Executive Power to be absorbed by the Legislature. The Separation and Balance of Powers is an antiquated expedient and pernicious delusion. Intellect and Will, Will and Action, Resolution and Execution, belong together. The Sovereignty of the People to be vindicated and made efficient by uniting all powers in the hands of its responsible legislative agents. The Executive only an administrative Commission of Congress. Real Democracy. The Only Remedy & Safeguard."

While no statement is made as to where that poster lay in 1945, Milwaukee possibly was the location, and information (and a picture of it) would be welcome.

In 1876, another "Independent Electoral Ticket" was formed, but received just about 150 votes each in Boston and Newark, 199 in Cincinnati, 300 in Detroit, 44 in Milwaukee and scattered support elsewhere.

By 1880, Heinzen was near death, and beyond a few editorials, he did not participate in the anti-President campaign. His last editorial suggested the Executive Mansion be renamed "the Red House" because of all the bloody soldier-Presidents who had occupied it.

He died November 12, 1880.★



APIC

KEYNOTER[®]

NEWS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS

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THE
SOCIALIST
PARTY
CANDIDATES

1
9
0
0DEBS AND HARRIMAN
87,8141
9
0
4DEBS AND HANFORD
402,2831
9
1
6BENSON & KIRKPATRICK
590,3221
9
0
8DEBS AND HANFORD
420,7931
9
1
2DEBS AND SEIDEL
901,8731
9
2
0DEBS & STEDMAN
919,7991
9
2
8THOMAS & MAURER
267,420

1924
THE SOCIALIST PARTY
SUPPORTED LA FOLLETTE-WHEELER
(PROGRESSIVE PARTY)

1
9
3
2THOMAS & MAURER
884,7811
9
3
6THOMAS & NELSON
187,7201
9
4
0THOMAS & KRUEGER
99,5571
9
4
4THOMAS & HOOPES
80,5181
9
4
8THOMAS & SMITH
139,521

1952-56
HOOPES & FRIEDMAN
20,189 2.126



1960
SUPPORTED KENNEDY
no national ticket



1964
SUPPORTED JOHNSON
no national ticket



DEBS AND THOMAS, INC. HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY



By Jon D. Curtis, #1438

The Socialist Party last ran candidates for office in 1956. What happened to the party of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas? What is the history behind the rise and demise of this party? When were the glory days? How did the Socialist Party affect our history? Is it active today?

Socialism was a development of the nineteenth century. The historian will point out early socialist experiments in community living led by Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. Of course, socialism received an impetus in growth through the work of Karl Marx when he issued the Communist Manifesto in 1848 and later published Das Kapital. Several early political movements in the U. S. had quasi-socialist programs. One can find socialistic ideas in the Granger Movement, the Greenback Party in the 1870's and 1880's and the People's (Populist) Party of the 1890's. These movements advocated such platforms as railroad regulation, government control of some industries, and federal ownership of telephone and telegraph.

The first socialist party in the United States was founded in 1876. This was the Socialist Labor Party. Although active from 1876 on, it did not field a presidential slate until 1892. In 1887 Edward Bellamy published Looking Backward. It sold 500,000 copies in the U. S. The book led Daniel DeLeon to the Socialist Labor Party. He became the driving force of the SLP. In death, he became its god and prophet. DeLeon's personality led him into conflict with other socialists of his time and inevitably factionalized the party. DeLeon believed in the "Social Industrial Union." This Social Industrial Union and a "Social Industrial Union Congress" would be organized by industries. People would be represented in the "Congress" by their trade. There would be no President, Vice President or Senate.

In 1899 Debs split with DeLeon and he and Victor Berger established the Social Democratic Party. The name was changed in 1901 to the Socialist Party of America. The basic tenet of the Socialist Party was democratic socialism.

In 1900 the Social Democratic Party ran Eugene V. Debs for President and the Californian Job Harriman for Vice President. They received just under 88,000 Popular votes. Although this represented only .69% of the popular vote, it offered some hope as the total was 2-1/2 times the previous Socialist Labor vote. The results encouraged those on the left. To them it was only a question of time before the American workingman would realize that his salvation would be through a labor-oriented political party; namely, the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party, although it never garnered a single electoral vote in its history, was fairly successful in local elections in various sections of the country. By 1904 there were close to 21,000 dues paying members in the party and this increased by more than 500% by 1912 to 118,000 paying members. By 1911 thirty-three cities had Socialist governments. In 1910 they took over Milwaukee. Emil Seidel was elected Mayor and Victor Berger was sent to the House of Representatives. Other Socialist cities were Berkeley, California, Butte, Montana, and Flint and Jackson, Michigan. In 1914 Meyer London won a seat in the House from New York City.

During this period the Socialists rejected the "syndicalism" of the I.W.W. of "Big Bill" Haywood as they would ultimately reject the violent revolution of the Communist Party. The reader should understand that the Socialist Party always picked the ballot box as the means for attaining the establishment of socialism. The party disintegrated not because of its radicalism, but because most of its popular ideas were pirated away by the major parties and it had very little patronage to pass out to members. Thus many members moved to Wilsonian politics in the 1913-1921 era and to the New Dealism of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

New York City was one of the strongholds of early Socialist power. The Socialist Call was a leading party organ. The garment workers were the cornerstone of Socialist support until they moved to the Liberal Party in 1944. The Socialist leaders in New York were Morris Hillquit and Meyer London. Generally the New York "wing" was the conservative wing of the party. In upstate New York, George R. Lunn took office as the Socialist Mayor of Schenectady in January, 1912. Actually Lunn was only using the party to further his own ambitions. He was ultimately expelled from the party in 1915, but continued as Mayor and in Congress and as Lt. Governor of New York as a Democrat.

The party was nearly as numerous in Pennsylvania as New York, but the membership was dispersed over a larger area. Its main focal point was in Reading. The early leader of the Pennsylvania Socialist Party was James Hudson Maurer. Maurer served several terms in the state legislature and was President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. He ultimately ran for Vice President in 1928 and 1932 with Norman Thomas at the head of the ticket.

The party membership became more radical as one moved west. The Milwaukee organization was more radical than New York. The most successful Socialist machine was Victor Berger's Milwaukee organization. The machine was very closely allied with the trade unions. The AFL leaders were at the same time Socialists. Also, the party had extensive organization at the ward level and workers who could speak English, German or Polish.

How radical was Berger's socialism? The answer can be seen by examining his proposals to Congress. He introduced bills favoring (1) nationalization of the railroads, (2) old-age pensions, (3) abolition of child labor, (4) self-government for the District of Columbia, (5) public works for the relief of the unemployed and (6) woman suffrage. By today's standards these programs are hardly radical. The Democrats adopted most of them.

Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma were truly radical to the point of almost being classified as "evangelical" socialism. Their leader was Kate Richards O'Hare. It became a combination of populism and socialism. They even had revival type encampments. The Appeal was the party organ. The strongest organization was in Oklahoma. The greatest percentage ever given a Socialist candidate for President was the 16-1/2% given to Debs in 1912 by Oklahoma. The party was almost non-existent in the South. The Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states were the true "syndicalists" of true violent revolutionaries in the Socialist Party. In 1911 Job Harriman almost won the mayoralty race in Los Angeles.

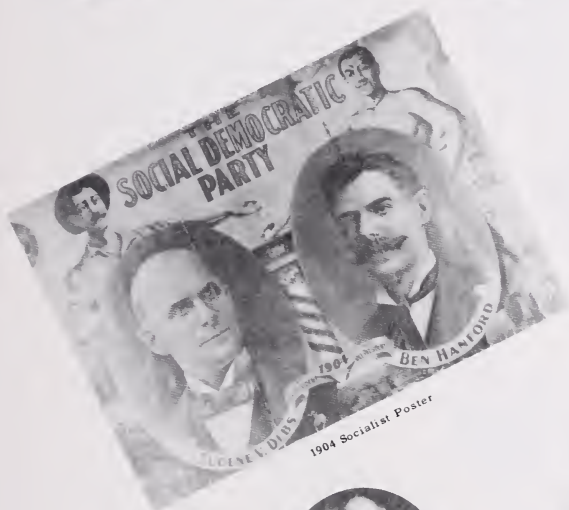
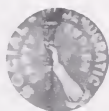
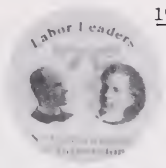
During this early formative period was sown one of the seeds of downfall for socialism. The party allowed extensive formation of foreign language federations. The largest of these federations were the Finnish, Slavs, Italians, Bohemians, Germans, Poles, Jews and Russian federations. The problem was that the federations were sometimes almost totally independent. Because of the language barrier, the national party knew only what the local federation wanted it to know. At one point 40% of the party was in these federations. These federations supported immigration to the U.S. but favored severe, if not complete, restriction of this immigration to European immigration. The party opposed any immigration from Asia.

Another interesting fact about the Socialist Party during its formative period was its attitude toward Negroes. Although the party took no official stand, it stated it believed in economic equality. However, Victor Berger did reflect the White Racist viewpoint. He stated in the Social Democratic Herald "that Negroes and Mulattoes constitute a lower race." The Appeal stated, "Socialists do not believe in a mixture of the races." The irony of these statements is that William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell, leading Socialists of this period, were among the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

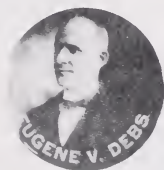
Nationally, the Socialist Party continued to increase its vote. In 1904 the name Socialist Party first appeared with national candidates. The party gave Eugene Debs his second Presidential nomination and picked Benjamin Hanford for Vice President. The popular vote increased almost 500% over 1900. The Debs-Hanford ticket cornered over 402,000 votes. The party had 3% of the total popular vote. Since it was hard to

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

1900-04-08 SOCIALIST ITEMS.



All buttons pictured actual size



DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

argue with success, the party repeated its 1904 Debs-Hanford ticket in 1908. This time the increase in the popular vote was just over 4% to 420,000, which was about 2.8% of the total vote. Still this did not deter the belief of the Socialists that their cause was the just cause. Ultimately they would triumph. Capitalism was certainly doomed to failure.

In 1900, only in California and Massachusetts did the party get more than 2% of the vote. California led with 2.5%. In 1904 California led with 8.9% of its votes in the Socialist column. Eighteen states exceeded the 1900 California percentage. In 1908 twenty states exceeded the 1900 lead total. Therefore, certainly the Socialists had reason to hope for the future.

One of the major fights in Socialist history took place at the 1912 National Convention. It was proposed that the party expel any member who opposed political action or favored violence. The amendment passed 191 to 90. It was directly aimed at Bill Haywood and the Industrial Workers of the World. Once and for all the Socialist Party established the fact that it would only accept the establishment of a socialist system through democratic processes.

The convention then proceeded with its nominations. Three candidates were proposed for President. Eugene Debs was put forward for the fourth time. He was opposed by Emil Seidel, Mayor of Milwaukee, and Charles Edward Russell. Debs won easily with 165 to Seidel's 56 and Russell's 54. The East favored Russell, the Wisconsin, Oklahoma and California area for Seidel. The Midwest, Mountain and Northwest were for Debs. Emil Seidel won the Vice Presidential nomination over Dan Hogan and John Clayton.

The Socialist Party had to face not two, but three major opponents in 1912. They were facing Woodrow Wilson for the Democrats, William Howard Taft for the Republicans and Theodore Roosevelt of the Progressives. Nonetheless, the Socialists did very well. They more than doubled their 1908 total by receiving 901,255 votes. This was 6% of the popular vote. The Socialists didn't know it, but they would never reach that percentage again. 16.6% of Oklahoma was in the Socialist column. Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Wisconsin ranged from 11.3% to 16.5% Socialist. Still one failure of the Socialists stands out. They had little support in the South. In the eleven states of the Confederacy they drew only 54,685 or 6% of the total Socialist vote, and 25,743 of those votes were in Texas alone.

After the election, Bill Haywood was expelled from the party, taking most of the radicals with him. This left the party under the control of the conservatives, Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit. Although Debs was the Presidential candidate, it should be remembered that still these two men were basically in control of the party. They could never be the party's national candidates, as Berger was born in Austria and Hillquit was born in Riga, Latvia.

The next issue to divide the Socialists was World War I. Socialists considered World War I as a product of the capitalist system. Yet the war was supported by the leading socialists of the belligerent nations. The issue was to split the American left. As the election of 1916 rolled around, the U.S. still had been able to keep out of the two-year-old war. President Wilson ran on a platform of "He Kept Us Out of War." Debs refused to run again in 1916, hoping for a younger man to assume leadership. The party was advocating a national referendum on entry into the war. Another unusual facet of 1916 was the manner in which the Socialists selected their candidates. They were picked not in convention, but by national referendum of the party members. The candidates were Allan L. Benson, a leading anti-war editorial writer for the APPEAL TO REASON, James H. Maurer of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and Arthur LeSeure, Vice President of the People's College. Benson squeezed out a thin victory over Maurer with LeSeure a distant third. George R. Kirkpatrick of New Jersey won the Vice Presidential nomination over Kate Richards O'Hare.

The election of 1916 was a major disappointment for the party. The party had been split by the loss of Haywood and his followers and then many Socialists left the party to support Wilson and his progressive administration. Also, Benson did not campaign

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

extensively like Debs, but preferred to campaign by newspaper articles. When the votes were counted, Benson had only 585,974, a loss of 315,000 from 1912. Benson polled fewer votes in 44 states when compared to Debs' total in 1912. In Oklahoma only did Benson poll more than 10% of the vote. The Socialist total of the National vote dropped from 6% in 1912 to 3% in 1916.

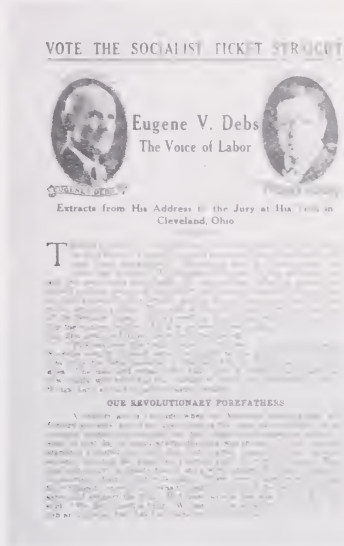
Once the U.S. entered the war, many leading members of the party deserted its pacifist stand. Among the more prominent were: Charles Edward Russell, William English Walling, Allan L. Benson, Upton Sinclair, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and John Spargo. The Socialists were caught between the principle of pacifism and the desire to be patriotic.

Besides the war, two other events had significant consequences for the Socialist Party. Eugene Debs delivered an anti-war speech in Canton, Ohio in June, 1918. Debs said the capitalist class had everything to gain by the war, but the masses would lose, especially their lives. He claimed the master classes declared the wars, while the subject class fought them. Debs was tried and found guilty under the Espionage Act and sentenced to ten years in prison. Just before sentencing Debs said "...while there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." The case was appealed to the Supreme Court and when the conviction was upheld, to President Wilson. All appeals were denied. Thus, five months after the war ended Debs entered prison. The other event was the Russian Revolution and the rise of Lenin to power in the Soviet Union. Those who supported the Soviet style of socialism became the left wing of the Socialist Party. There then developed a struggle for power between the two wings. By the end of 1919 two radical left-wing groups had split off from the party. One group founded the Communist Party while another established the Communist Labor Party. Ultimately, these two parties merged.

When it came time to nominate candidates for the 1920 election, the party picked Eugene Debs for his fifth run at the Presidency. He was unopposed for the Presidential nomination. Seymour Stedman, the Chicago lawyer, was picked for Vice President 106 to 26 over Kate Richards O'Hare. The small remaining leftists wanted her, but the majority felt that one of the candidates should not be in prison, but free to campaign. Mrs. O'Hare was also in prison on an Espionage Act conviction. The Socialists had two major problems in the campaign. Their budget had only \$50,000 and Debs could not campaign. He was allowed to have 500 words released from prison per week.

Still Debs polled 919,801 votes. This wasn't bad for a man confined to prison. It was to be the highest total ever cast for Socialist candidates. However, it only represented 3.43% of the total vote and only in Wisconsin did Debs get more than 10%. He pulled 12% there. Another blow was the loss by Victor Berger of his House seat. At this time Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer initiated his "Red Scare." This was similar to the "McCarthy" era of the early 1950's. It reached the point that five duly elected Socialist members of the New York State Assembly were denied their seats simply because they were elected as Socialists. Debs was finally released from prison on Christmas Day, 1921 by President Harding. His health was failing, but he tried his best to rebuild the party. In 1922 the Conference for Progressive Political Action was formed.

Reform was a big issue, with the rumors of scandal in the Harding administration. When it appeared that organized labor was going to be active in the Progressive Party in 1924, it seemed that the Socialists were going to finally see labor supporting a labor political party. The Progressives picked a ticket of Sen. Robert M. LaFollette for President and Sen. Burton K. Wheeler for Vice President. When the Socialist Convention was held they endorsed the Progressive candidates. They then proceeded to work very hard for LaFollette. He received just under five million votes plus the thirteen electoral votes of Wisconsin. It is difficult to assess the Socialist support for LaFollette. 858,264 of LaFollette's votes were cast on a Socialist ticket, but in some states the Progressives didn't have a line on the ballot and didn't need one, since LaFollette already had the Socialist line. In some states LaFollette had both

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).1916-20 SOCIALIST ITEMS.

1920 Handout

OUR CANDIDATE*EUGENE V. DEBS*

Convincer No. 9053

1920 Poster



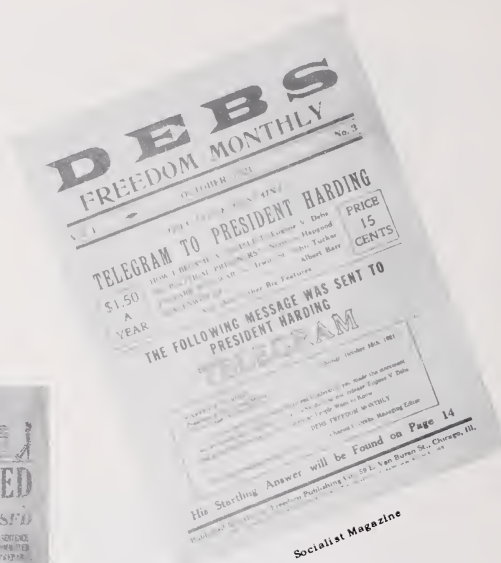
All buttons pictured actual size

WE WANT
DEBS



DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).DEBS IN PRISON AND UPON RELEASE.

12/24/21 Newspaper



DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

a Progressive and a Socialist line. However, after the election, the American Federation of Labor decided a third party was not the answer to political success. This shattered the Socialist dream of a true labor party. The only success the Socialists had in 1924 was Victor Berger's return to Congress. Yet how much of a success could the party feel with only one Socialist in Washington.

The 1920's were a time of prosperity. The American public was busy speculating and making money. It was a time of fun and frolic. When times are good, it is very hard to convince the electorate that the system is wrong. People with full stomachs and good wages and promises of more to come don't listen to radical campaign propaganda. Against this background the Socialists had to field candidates in 1928. The only success they had between 1924 and 1928 was the election of a Socialist Mayor, J. Henry Stump, two city councilmen, James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder in Reading, Pennsylvania. They also elected a city controller and two school board members.

A new figure rose in Socialist circles in 1928. This man was Norman Mattoon Thomas. Thomas was a Presbyterian Minister educated at Princeton and Union Theological Seminary. He became a Socialist because of his pacifist convictions during World War I. He had been the Socialist candidate for Governor of New York in 1924, for Mayor of New York in 1925, for state senator in 1926 and alderman in 1927. Still, he was almost unknown outside New York. The biggest name the Socialists had in 1928 was Dan Hoan, but he was not about to resign as Mayor of Milwaukee to run a losing campaign for President. Debs had died so there was nobody else. James H. Maurer was picked for Vice President. The campaign budget was a meager \$75,000.

The 1928 Socialist Platform called for:

- 1) Inhibited use of labor injunctions by federal courts.
- 2) Eliminate "lame-duck" Congresses.
- 3) Direct election of President and Vice President.
- 4) Negroes be allowed to vote on same basis as whites.
- 5) Government ownership of major means of production.

Still, 1928 was a devastating year for Socialists. Thomas received 267,420 votes and only .73% of the total vote. 107,000 of those votes came from New York alone. Thomas' 2.4% of the New York vote was his highest percentage. Only in New York, California, Florida and Wisconsin did Thomas receive as much as one percent of the vote. Then came October 29, 1929 and the "crash" heard round the world. The "Depression" had started.

It is not necessary to go into great depth to describe the conditions of the depression. Suffice it to state that by 1932 over 25% of the labor force was unemployed and a great many others under-employed. Against a background of despair and hopelessness, radical parties should grow and expand. The Socialist Party of the early 1930's became a haven for intellectuals. It was no longer a party of immigrants and labor agitators. The party was having some renewed success. The Socialist representation in the Wisconsin Assembly jumped from three to nine and a second state senator was added. In Pennsylvania, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson won seats in the legislature from Reading.

The 1932 Convention was held in Milwaukee. There was no contest for the Presidential nomination. Norman Thomas was selected to run with James H. Maurer. There was talk of running Victor Berger's widow Meta for Vice President, but nothing ever materialized. Thus the 1928 ticket was repeated. The National Executive Committee had several successful Socialists on it. Among them were Lilith Wilson and Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Pennsylvania, Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The platform of 1932 made the depression the main issue. It called for the socialization of major industries. The party called for confiscation with compensation to the owners. There were to be economic reforms and relief and recovery acts. The banking industries were to be socialized. They also favored unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and a child labor law. They were also for public works projects to employ those out of work. Nonetheless, the Socialists were able to garner relatively few labor endorsements.

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

When election day rolled around, some optimistic Socialists predicted the party would receive three million votes. They had no illusions about winning. Thomas said he would consider a million and a half votes a victory. He got less than two-thirds that total. He received 884,781 votes, the best he would ever do. This was three times his 1928 count, but still only 2.2% of the total vote. His best showing was 4.79% in Wisconsin. Little did the Socialists realize it would be all downhill from here. Between 1932 and 1936, Franklin D. Roosevelt enacted most of the planks of the Socialist platform. Most of our social legislation that is on the books today can be found in the platforms of the Socialist and Populist Parties.

An additional split hit the party during this period. Some of the left wing broke away to join the Communist Party. Additional members left the party to follow the New Deal. Several Socialists wished to support Roosevelt, but couldn't picture themselves in the Democratic Party with its strong conservative segregationist wing. Therefore, in New York, this group left the Socialist Party and formed the American Labor Party. Its core was made up of garment workers led by Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky. With their exodus, little labor support was left in the party.

In 1936 Norman Thomas was picked for a third time to head the Socialist ticket. George A. Nelson of Wisconsin was picked to run for Vice President. Both Thomas and Nelson conducted extensive campaigns. Thomas spent most of his time attacking the new Union Party which was running William Lemke and Thomas O'Brien. The party was composed of followers of Huey Long, Fr. Coughlin and Dr. Frances Townsend. Thomas saw great danger in this group which tended to be anti-Semitic and neo-fascist. Despite Thomas' warnings, the Union Party polled 884,000 votes to finish third in the election. The Thomas-Nelson ticket finished a poor fourth with 188,497 votes. This was particularly devastating to the Socialists, as they had always been the largest third party with the exception of their first year, when as the Social Democratic Party they finished behind the Woolley-Metcalf Prohibition ticket and the 1912 and 1924 elections when the Progressives finished ahead of the Socialists. In 1912 the Republicans were the third place finishers with the Progressives second. The Socialist vote in 1936 was only .41% of the total vote and almost half their total was in New York, which was the only state where their total exceeded 1% of the total vote cast. The Socialist Party had been fatally stricken by an idea called the New Deal.

Another split in the party happened in 1937. The Trotskyites had dissolved the Workers Party and joined the Socialists. They were led by James P. Cannon and eventually left the party to form the Socialist Workers Party. By 1937 membership had fallen to 6,000 dues-paying members and in 1938 they lost their place on the New York ballot. After that it became necessary to go through the tedious petition process.

In September, 1939 World War II broke out with the German invasion of Poland. The Socialists, particularly Thomas, demanded strict neutrality. He felt that the policy of all aid to the Allies short of war would ultimately lead to U.S. involvement. Against the background of Axis conquests in 1940, the Socialists picked Thomas to run for President for a fourth time. Maynard C. Krueger of the University of Chicago ran for Vice President. The Socialist anti-war program did not attract voters and their total fell another 72,000 to 116,514. In eighteen states the Socialists received no votes. Their total was only .23% of the total vote cast and only in Wisconsin did they pull 1%.

After the election Thomas continued on an anti-war path. He opposed Lend-Lease and the extension of the draft. The party did not take an official stand on the war. After Pearl Harbor, a blanket anti-war stand would have been extremely unpopular. The party was faced with another election in 1944. In twenty states the party received no votes. The party had given its Presidential nomination to Norman Thomas for a fifth time. The Vice Presidential nod was handed to Darlington Hoopes, the Reading, Pennsylvania lawyer, city councilman and state legislator. The Thomas-Hoopes ticket pulled a vote of 79,010 or only .16% of the total vote. In no state did they receive even one percent of the vote. Their best showing was in Wisconsin.

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

1928 to 1960 SOCIALIST ITEMS.



SOCIALIST PARTY
NAT'L CONVENTION
1936



Voluntary Assessment



all buttons pictured actual size

The struggle for peace, power, and justice is one and indivisible. The power of our struggle must be the power of the working people of our time and our time is a golden rule of war.

There is a struggle for peace, power, and justice in our time and our time is a golden rule of war.

There is a struggle for peace, power, and justice in our time and our time is a golden rule of war.

THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

In the struggle for peace, power, and justice, the working people of our time and our time is a golden rule of war.

There is a struggle for peace, power, and justice in our time and our time is a golden rule of war.

There is a struggle for peace, power, and justice in our time and our time is a golden rule of war.



Vote Socialist

1944 SOCIALIST PLATFORM

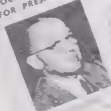
Freedom for All!

1. WINNING OF THE PEACE



1944 Pamphlet

DARLINGTON HOOPES
SOCIALIST CANDIDATE
FOR PRESIDENT



SAMUEL H. FRIEDMAN
SOCIALIST CANDIDATE
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



1950 Pamphlet

VOTE
SOCIALIST

I'm for
NORMAN
THOMAS



1948 Pamphlet

Vote
SOCIALIST
Party

60
AFTER
60

I'm for
NORMAN
THOMAS

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (continued).

After the war there was a swing to the right as witnessed by the Republicans gaining control of Congress in the 1946 elections. In 1948 Norman Thomas was even a delegate to the Progressive Convention that nominated Henry Wallace for President and Glen H. Taylor for Vice President. The Progressive Party was captured by infiltration from the Communist Party. True Socialists could not stomach this indirect Soviet domination, especially with the cold war making headlines daily. Hence the Socialist Party gave a sixth Presidential nomination to Norman Thomas. Tucker P. Smith of Michigan was picked for second place on the ticket. The Socialist ticket of Thomas-Smith drew 139,523 votes, an increase of 50,000 over 1944. This was .29% of the total vote; again in no state did they pull 1%, with Wisconsin again getting the highest Socialist percentage. It's possible that the increase could be attributed to democratic leftists who could not accept the Democrats, but also couldn't accept the Communist dominated Wallace-Taylor ticket. This marked the end of Norman Thomas as a candidate for the Presidency. He had run six times, a record. In 1950 he announced that he would not be a candidate again and even suggested that the Socialist Party should not field a ticket in 1952.

Norman Thomas never really left the political arena. He came back into prominence in the late 1950's and 1960's when he spoke out for civil rights and opposed American participation in the war in Vietnam. The man who had been the victim of egg throwing in the thirties found national respect and honor in the sixties. When Norman Thomas died in 1968, leaders of the nation paid their respects. Perhaps the greatest compliment one could pay Norman Thomas is to say he loved his fellow man. He was always a man of peace.

The Socialist Party continued to stumble headlong into the fifties. In 1952, disregarding Thomas' advice, they again fielded candidates. The 1944 Vice Presidential nominee, Darlington Hoopes, was picked to head the 1952 ticket. Samuel H. Friedman was given the number two spot. The results of the election were devastating. The fall beneath the Socialist Labor vote total was a particularly bitter pill to swallow. The Socialist total was only 20,189. In 1954 the Socialist Party in Wisconsin did not present a slate of candidates in the state elections. As Wisconsin had been a Socialist stronghold, this was another deadly blow.

In 1956 the last Socialist candidates for President and Vice President were placed on the ballot. The 1952 ticket of Darlington Hoopes and Samuel H. Friedman was repeated. The meager total of 2,121 votes was received. This fell below every party including the Socialist Workers, except Henry Krajewski's American Third Party. Votes were received in only six states with a high of 754 in Wisconsin and a low of a scant 82 in New York.

The Socialist Party is not exactly dead today. Its last elected official was Jasper McLevy, Mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut. The Socialist Party today advocates working within the Democratic Party. Michael Harrington heads the party today. He believes capitalism can be transformed through working in the Democratic Party. Perhaps the Socialist Party could have been reborn in the late sixties if it could have seized upon and organized a democratic opposition to Vietnam. Unfortunately, the initiative was seized by the Socialist Workers Party which has been very active on college campuses, and there is a serious question about the "democratic" policies of the SWP. They are on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The chief reasons for the demise of the Socialist Party were:

1. The Socialist Party as it was known from 1900 to 1956 died because it failed to organize at the local level. Only in Oklahoma, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania was it truly organized down to the ward level, and this is the heart of the political party system.
2. The Socialists seldom concerned themselves with local issues, preferring to concentrate on national problems. But it is at the local level that people learn party identification. It is here that they have the most influence.

DEBS AND THOMAS, INC., (concluded).

3. The Socialists wished to have their members all of one mold. When this was not to be, groups left or were expelled. Certainly the Democratic and Republican Parties are not all of the same mold. The Democrats have their conservative southern faction, whereas the east and west coast Republican Parties are far more liberal than the mid-western and southern membership.
4. At times the Socialists could not communicate with the general public when it became involved in heated debate wrapped in socialistic or Marxist jargon. They were too intellectual for the masses.
5. The United States has a two-party system and it is ingrained in its people. The election laws in some states are so complicated or force unusual expenses on third parties that they cannot get a ballot spot.
6. The major parties have and will continue to steal any ideas of a third party which appear to be popular and might guarantee election. Hundreds of programs on the books today are socialistic in nature.
7. The Socialist Party was built on the idea of class struggle, yet in the U.S. there is little class consciousness. There also has been a long history of class mobility. The Horatio Alger success story has been played over and over on the American scene. In general, the standard of living has increased from generation to generation. The young working man today can usually look around and see that he lives more comfortably than his father or his father's father.

Last, but not least, is the problem of definition. To millions of Americans, to be a socialist was to be a communist. They did not know, nor did they attempt to learn, the difference between Soviet-style socialism as advocated by the Communist Party and democratic socialism as advocated by Debs and Thomas. This lack of knowledge in the minds of the masses of Americans was the kiss of death to the Socialist Party. The party headquarters in New York says the party lives. Debs is dead, Thomas is dead, and they were the heart of the Socialist Party. If the heart is dead, the body is dead. Therefore, the Socialist Party of America is dead.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY — AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

American Socialism stemmed from various European theories, the community living experiments and from the communist influence of Karl Marx. In America in the late 1880's the Greenback and Peoples Parties advocated various socialistic approaches to change our society. The Socialist Party advocating 'democratic socialism' was founded by Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger, with Debs being the chief advocate and party standard-bearer from its beginning in 1899 thru 1920.....Debs first race was in 1900 with Job Harriman and attracted 87,814 voters; in 1904, Debs and Benjamin Hanford increased their vote to 402,283. A repeat of the ticket in 1908 found 420,793 voters endorsing socialism. Debs and Emil Seidel of Milwaukee made a good showing in spite of the major party split in 1912; they garnered 901,873 votes. Debs felt a younger man should head the ticket in 1916 and Allan L. Benson, editor of APPEAL TO REASON, an anti-war and socialist publication, was chosen; his running mate was George R. Kirkpatrick; they polled only 590,322 votes. Upon our entry into World War I, many Socialists dropped their anti-war position, but Debs continued to voice opposition, and was arrested, jailed and found guilty under the Espionage Act, for his statements in a June 1918 speech in Canton, Ohio. Debs in prison in 1920, ran for President, along with his defense attorney Seymour Stedman — they received the largest popular vote ever cast for the Socialist Party, 919,801. In 1924 the Socialists endorsed the Progressive's, Bob LaFollette. A new perennial candidate, Norman Thomas, was to appear in 1928 and his first running mate was James H. Maurer. They polled only 267,420 votes but were picked again in 1932 and did much better, due to the depression, with 884,781 supporters. It was Thomas and George A. Nelson in 1936 but the New Deal had stolen much of their thunder, and the vote was down to 187,720. In 1940 Maynard C. Krueger joined Thomas and their vote slipped to 99,557; in 1944 Thomas and Darlington Hoopes attracted 80,518 supporters. When Thomas ran with Tucker P. Smith in 1948, his sixth try broke Debs record and 139,521 votes were cast, in spite of Henry Wallace's Progressives. In 1952 Debs felt that the Socialist Party should no longer field candidates and he refused nomination. Darlington Hoopes and Samuel H. Friedman were nominated and polled only 20,189 votes, their repeat in 1956 was the death blow, as only 2,126 supported their cause. The New Deal and prosperity had knocked them out. Thomas continued to speak on social reforms until his death.

FOR PRESIDENT

NORMAN THOMAS

FOR VICE PRESIDENT

JAMES H. MAURER

VOTE SOCIALIST

IN CITY - STATE - NATION

 20

 100